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THE URIM AND THUMMIM.

A SUGGESTION AS TO THEIR ORIGINAL NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE.

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I.

We have been taught since the days of the Alexandrian translators of the Old Testament that אֱרִיִּים וְתַמִּיִּים mean "revelation and truth" (*δήλωση και ἀλήθεια*), or "lights and perfections" (*φωτισμοὶ και τελειότητες*); the *τελειότης και διδαχή* of Symmachus (translated by Jerome: *Perfectio et doctrina*; see Field's *Hexapla* on Deut. 33:8); the *φωτισμοὶ* and *τελειώσεις* of Aquila and Theodotion). The Vulgate accordingly renders the terms by *doctrina* (after Symmachus' *διδαχή*; old Latin: *ostensio* or *demonstratio*) *et veritas*. This notion as to the meaning of the two Hebrew words has maintained itself so tenaciously through the Middle Ages down to our days that it seems almost impossible to gain a hearing for any other view. But that there is no foundation for such a view in the Old Testament itself, when correctly understood, an examination of the few passages where the words occur will readily show. These are the passages:

Exod. 28:13-30 describes the high-priestly ephod and the breastplate with the Ūrim and Tummim. It is called in vs. 15

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a “breastplate of judgment” (חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט); it was to be four-square and double. The twelve stones mentioned in vs. 17 were not put inside of the חֹשֶׁן, but on the outside. “And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment upon his heart, when he goes in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually. And thou shalt put into the breastplate of judgment the Ūrīm and the Tummīm;¹ and they shall be upon Aaron’s heart when he goeth in before the Lord; and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually” (vss. 29, 30).

The חֹשֶׁן of the high priest was a small bag, or pouch, worn upon the breast, to hold the Ūrīm and Tummīm; it was called חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט “ח” by the people, because of the decisions which were supposed to be given by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm. It was made of the same material as the high-priestly אֵפֹד, a span square, set in front with twelve jewels in four rows, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes.

In Leviticus, chap. 8, Moses consecrates Aaron and his sons as priests in compliance with the command given in Exod. 29:1–37. Vss. 7, 8 read: “And he [Moses] put upon him [Aaron] the coat [cf. Exod. 28:4], and girded him with the girdle and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith. And he put the breastplate upon him: and he put in the breastplate the Ūrīm and the Tummīm.”²

Deuteronomy, chap. 33, contains “the blessing of Moses.” Vs. 8 reads: “And of Levi he said: Thy Tummīm and thy Ūrīm are with thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah.”—Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium*,³ p. 125, translates: “Thy Tummīm and thy Ūrīm belong unto him that is devoted to thee; whom thou didst prove at Massah, and for whom thou didst fight at Meribah.”—Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*,⁴ p. 106: “Give unto Levi thy Tummīm;

¹ LXX has *καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δὴλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. On משפּט = justice, see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XI (1892), pp. 206–11.

² וַיִּתֵּן אֵל הַחֹשֶׁן אֶת הָאֲרִימִים וְאֶת הַתּוּמִיִּם = *καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τὴν δὴλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. The LXX translator mistook *נָתַן אֵל* (Lev. 8:8) for *עָל* (Exod. 28:14, 23 sqq.) [“Heb. Sam. reads *עָל*; cf. Pesh.”—George F. Moore]; cf. also Exod. 25:16, 21; Numb. 19:17; Deut. 23:25.

³ “Handkommentar zum Alten Testament,” herausgegeben von W. Nowack. I. Abtheilung, 3. Band, i. Theil (Göttingen, 1898).

⁴ “Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament,” herausgegeben von Karl Marti. Abteilung V (Freiburg, 1899).

and thy Ūrīm to thy favorites, whom thou didst prove," etc.—Gesenius-Brown, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1891), p. 22: "Thy Thummim and thy Urim has the man of favour," *i. e.*, the Levite, tested at Massah and Meribah.—Driver, *Deuteronomy* ("International Critical Commentary"), 1895, p. 398: "Thy Thummim and thy Urim be for the man, thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou contendedst at the waters of Meribah." See also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 157.—Baudissin, *Geschichte des Alttest. Priesterthums*, p. 76, thinks that "thy godly one" was either Aaron or Moses, as representative of the whole tribe of Levi. Later on he says: "Der Fromme Jahwe's ist, so scheint es, Aaron."

The most important passage for the right conception of the Ūrīm and Tummīm is 1 Sam. 14:41, where Wellhausen and Driver⁵ have amended the Massoretic text, on the basis of the Septuagint, to read as follows: "And Saul said: Lord, God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If this iniquity (guilt) be in me or in Jonathan my son, Lord, God of Israel, give Ūrīm; but if it be in thy people Israel, give Tummīm.⁶ Then Jonathan and Saul were taken by lot; and the people escaped." "Δῆλοι (LXX) stands for אֲרִיִּים (28:6 and Numb. 27:21; as δῆλωσις in Exod. 28:26; Lev. 8:8). . . . The amended text (which is accepted, amongst others, by Dr. Weir) shews (what has often been surmised independently) that the משפט האוריים והחממים was a mode of casting lots" (Driver, p. 89).—H. P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel*,⁷ p. 122: "Urim and Thummim were two objects used in the lot—perhaps stones of different colours (following Ewald, *Geschichte*, Vol. III, p. 309; *Antiquities*, p. 295)—one of which gave the affirmative, the other gave the negative, answer to a question put in the form already indicated."

⁵ Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (Oxford, 1890), p. 89. Also Budde, *The Books of Samuel* (SBOT., edid. Haupt), p. 63. This conjecture was made long ago (1842) by Thениus in the first edition of his commentary on the books of Samuel ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch"). See Lagarde, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1885, Vol. I, p. 75. The הַבָּה הַתְּמִיִּים of the Massoretic text is an arbitrary change of the correct הַבָּה הַאֲרִיִּים.

⁶ H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 122, translates: "but if thus thou say: 'It is in my people; give Tummīm;'" also see p. 124. The Septuagint (Cod. B) reads as follows: Καὶ εἶπεν Σαούλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, τί ὄντι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθάν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, ὁὗς δῆλους (אֲרִיִּים)· καὶ ἐὰν τὰδε εἴπω, ὁὗς δὴ τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραήλ, ὁὗς δὴ ὁσιώτητα (*i. e.*, הַבָּה תְּמִיִּים). Gl., *i. e.*, Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum*, pars I, p. 275, has this reading: Καὶ εἰ τὰδε εἴπω· Ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἢ ἀδικία, ὁὗς ὁσιώτητα· καὶ κατακληροῦνται Σαούλ καὶ Ἰωναθάν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαός·

⁷ In "The International Critical Commentary." New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1899. See also Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel* ("The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"), 1891, p. 137.

1 Sam. 28:3-6: "Samuel had died, and all Israel had mourned for him, and had buried him in Ramah, his city. And Saul had removed the talismans and necromantic charms [so H. P. Smith] from the land. And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa. And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Ūrīm, nor by prophets."

Here we have three methods of divine communication in the Old Testament: (1) The dream-oracle (*cf.* Numb. 12:6; 1 Kings 3:4 *sqq.*), of which frequent mention is made also in Assyrian and Babylonian literature. Thus, *e. g.*, the dream-vision of Gudea,⁸ and numerous references in the *Gilgamesh (Nimrod) Epic*.⁹ In a hymn to the god Šamaš, published by Brūnnow (in *ZA.*, Vol. IV, pp. 7 *sqq.*), we read that the interpretation of dreams (pašēru šunāte) was the specific function of the šā'ilu.¹⁰ There appears as interpreter of dreams also the šabrū (a word compounded, probably, of ša + barī, Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. VII, p. 174, rm. 1, = "der Mann des Sehens"). It is quite possible that the interpretation of dreams reverts ultimately also to the functions of the bārū, "seer" (Smith, *Ašurbanipal*, 123, 50).¹¹ Also the maxxū-priest appears as interpreter of dreams;¹² and in *Ašurbanipal*, Cyl. A, col. v, 97-102,¹³ Ištar sends a dream-vision to the troops of *Ašurbanipal*, saying unto them: "I go before *Ašurbanipal* the king, whom my hands have created." Trusting in this dream, they advanced victoriously and defeated their enemies. (2) The oracle by means of the Ūrīm; here, undoubtedly, an abbreviation for the Ūrīm and Tummīm. (3) The oracle by the word of the prophets, found among all Semitic nations.

⁸ H. Zimmern in *ZA.*, Vol. III, pp. 232-5.

⁹ *NE.* (Haupt), p. 14, 14: šu-na-ta aṭ-ṭul mu-ši-ti-ja (*cf.* 6, 45; 13, 15); 49, 209: šu-na-ta i-na-aṭ-ṭal "he saw a dream, he had a dream-vision;" 50, 29 *sq.*; 55, 20: ū-um šutta iṭ-ṭu-lu; also *cf.* King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, Nos. 6, 116; 10; 18; 12, 113; 6, 43 *sq.*; 13, 24; IV R² 59, No. 2 b 21, 22, 23; 57 b 44. Nabd, *Scheil*, vi, 21, 22.

¹⁰ K. 3187 (*ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 8), ll. 51-2.

¹¹ Ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-xu-ru-ši | ištēn (amē) šab-ru-u u-tu-ul-ma i-na(-aṭ)-ṭal šuttu | i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši | Ištā u-šab-ru-u-šu | u-ša-an-na-a (*KB.*, Vol. II, pp. 250-1); V R. 3, 120: šabrū i-na-aṭ-ṭa-al šuttu.

¹² *Ibid.* (pp. 252-6), l. 95: ina idāti šutti egirre šī-pir max-xi-e.

¹³ Ištar a-ši-bat (a¹) Arba-ilu ina šat mu-ši | a-na ummānāti-ja šuttu u-šab-ri-ma | ki-a-am iq-bi-šu-nu-ti | um-ma a-na-ku al-lak ina ma-xar Ašur-bān-aplu | šarri ša ib-na-a qātā-a-a e-li šutti an-ni-ti ummānāti-ja ir-xu-ḡu, etc.

The only other instance of actual consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm mentioned in the Old Testament is found in Numb. 27:21, where it is said: "And he [Joshua] shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel (or inquire) for him after (by) the judgment of Ūrīm (δηλοῖ) before the Lord: at his word shall they go out, and at his word shall they come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation." Eleazar was the high priest. Moses was permitted by the Lord to address him directly. Joshua and his successors could do this only through the mediation of the high priest and by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm.

Ezra 2:63 = Neh. 7:65 states: "And the Tirshatha¹⁴ said unto them,¹⁵ that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Ūrīm and Tummīm (LXX: Καὶ τοῖς τελείοις; alia exempl. ταῖς τελειώσεσι)."¹⁶ It is quite probable that the age of Ezra and Nehemiah was no longer cognizant of the nature of the Ūrīm and Tummīm. Post-exilic Israel had neither the sacred breastplate nor the Ūrīm and Tummīm. This passage tacitly contradicts the assertion of Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9 (end), that the Ūrīm and Tummīm only first failed in the Maccabean era.¹⁷ "The Ūrīm and Tummīm, along with the Ark, the Shechinah, the Holy Fire, the Spirit of Prophecy, the Oil of Anointing, constituted the chief points, for the absence of which the Jews of later times deplored the deficiency of Zerubabel's Temple as compared with that of Solomon" (H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 32, in "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges;" Mishna *Sotā* 9:12; Tos. *Sotā* 13:2; Jer. *Kiddushim* 4:1; Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9, end).—Ecclus. 33:3¹⁸ may possibly prove a knowledge of the tradition concerning the

¹⁴ *I. e.*, his excellency, by which the writer means the governor Sheshbazzar (= Sin-bal-u-çur); see Geo. Hoffmann, *ZA.*, Vol. II, p. 52, rm. 1; Gesenius¹³, p. 877.

¹⁵ To the returned Jews (mentioned in the preceding verses) who "sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they deemed polluted, and were put from the priesthood." See on this period of Jewish history especially Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle, 1896, p. 194; also cf. Baudissin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 140, 141.

¹⁶ Compare 1 Macc. 4:46, (Judas and the blameless priests, whom he had chosen) pulled down the altar (which had been profaned) and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an answer concerning them. 14:41. The Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet.

¹⁷ "However, the breastplate and sardonyx left off shining two hundred years before I composed this work, God having been displeased at the transgression of his laws" (B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, Vol. I, p. 202).

¹⁸ "A man of understanding will put his trust in the law; and the law is faithful unto him, as when one asketh at the oracle." Professor H. P. Smith calls my attention to Ryssel's

use of the Ūrīm and the Tummīm, but it cannot be inferred from it that answers were received, at that time, by means of the Ūrīm and the Tummīm.

The Ūrīm and the Tummīm are implied, also, wherever in the earlier history of Israel mention is made of asking counsel of the Lord (= Yahweh) by means of the ephod.¹⁹ Thus, in Josh. 9:14, "And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord" (*cf.* Numb. 27:21).²⁰—Judg. 1:1, "Now, after the death of Joshua, it came to pass that the children of Israel asked the Lord, saying," etc. Vs. 2, "And the Lord said," etc.²¹ 20:18, "And the children of Israel arose, and went up to the house of God, and asked counsel of God (בְּאֵלֵהוּיִם), and said, Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up first;"²² vs. 23, "And the children of Israel went up [to Beth-el] and wept before the Lord until even, and asked counsel of the Lord," etc. Also see vss. 26–28 (Budde, *Buch der Richter*, pp. 135, 136), where the mention of the ark is rather out of place; Bertheau, Budde, and others have, therefore, cut out vss. 27*b* and 28*a* as late glosses, supplementing one the other.—In 1 and 2 Samuel the Ūrīm and Tummīm are consulted chiefly by Saul and by David. By Saul in 1 Sam. 10:22 (vss. 19–22, when Saul is chosen king); 14:3, 36 *sqq.*, and vs. 18, where, with LXX, we must read: "Saul said unto Ahijah: Bring hither the ephod; for he carried the ephod at that time before the children of Israel."²³ 1 Sam. 14:41 and

translation in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 394: "Der Verständige setzt sein Vertrauen aufs Gesetz, und das Gesetz bewährt sich ihm als zuverlässig wie eine Frage an die Urim." In a footnote Ryssel says: "Statt *δικαίων* ist mit Sin., GAL. u. a. Handschr. (die mit L meist *δηλών* ["wie einer, der eine Frage aufstellt," was nach Hatch, p. 276, zum Folgenden zu ziehen wäre,—kaum richtig], aber auch *δηλών* bieten) *δηλών* zu lesen (vgl. 45, 10 *δηλοι* [*ἀληθείας*] für אֱלֹהִים und ebenso in LXX). Der Gedanke ist: wie eine Frage an die Urim und Tummim richtig beantwortet wird."

¹⁹ "The preposition בְּ in connection with אֱלֹהִים followed by the name of God is to be explained as originally of local signification" (Geo. F. Moore). On the nature of the אֱלֹהִים see especially Moore, *Judges* ("International Critical Commentary"), 1895, pp. 380 *sqq.*, where copious references and literature are given. [Also article "Ephod" in Vol. II of *Encyclopædia Biblica*.—George F. Moore.]

²⁰ *Cf.* Maclear, *Joshua* ("Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges." 1892), pp. 80, 81. See also Josh. 7:14–18, the story of Achan and the discovery of his theft.

²¹ See Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T."), pp. 2, 3; Moore, *Judges*, 1895, pp. 10–13; Lias, *Judges*, pp. 43, 44, 197.

²² The whole verse is rejected by Bertheau, Budde, and others, as a later gloss taken from 1:1; see also Moore, pp. 431–5.

²³ See Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. 83, 84, whom it has escaped that Keil had made this suggestion many years before him; Budde, *The Books of Samuel* (= *SBOT*), p. 62; H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, pp. 111 *sq.*; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Bd. II, pp. 93 *sq.*

28:6, see above.—By David in 1 Sam. 22:10, 13; 23:2, 4, 6, 9–12, where David asked counsel of the Lord four times by means of the ephod (*i. e.*, the Ūrīm and the Tummīm), and the Lord answered him each time. 30:7 *sq.*, “And David [at Ziklag] said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech’s son, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod. And Abiathar brought thither the ephod. And David inquired at the Lord, saying, Shall I pursue after this troop? shall I overtake them? And he answered him, Pursue: for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all.” 2 Sam. 2:1; 5:19, 23 *sq.*; 21:1.

In all cases, except 1 Sam. 10:22 and 2 Sam. 5:23 *sq.*, the answer is either Yes or No. It has been suggested by Riehm and others that these two passages have undergone editorial changes.

After the death of David no instance is mentioned in the Old Testament of consulting the Lord by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm, or the ephod. This desuetude is undoubtedly occasioned by the growing influence of Old Testament prophecy (see, however, Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 473). Professor Moore calls my attention to Lagarde’s conjecture on Ps. 43:3, and to the fact that אֲרָמִים is intended also in Hos. 6:5.

II.

These are the passages in the Old Testament where the Ūrīm and Tummīm are mentioned, either directly or by implication. Before expressing our own view on the original nature and significance of this oracle, it may not be out of place to quote some of the ancient and, especially, modern explanations²⁴ of these mysterious instruments through which Yahweh communicated his will to his chosen people.

Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9,²⁵ and some of the rabbins were of the opinion that this sacred lot (or oracle) of the Israelites was identical with the gems of the breastplate, and that

²⁴ In addition to those mentioned in the preceding sections.

²⁵ Niese, Vol. I, pp. 201 *sq.*: “Now as to those stones which I said before the high priest wore on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes (I think it needless to describe their nature, as they are known to everybody); one of them sparkled when God was present at their worship, namely, the one that served as a clasp on the right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by persons at a very great distance, though this was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as do not cultivate wisdom in contempt of religion. But I will mention what is still more wonderful than this, that God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendor shone forth from them before the army began to march that all the people were sensible of God’s presence for their assistance. So those Greeks who had a regard for

the splendor shining forth from them indicated God's presence for the assistance of the Israelites. It is not quite correct to maintain that Philo's opinion (*De Vita Mos.*, pp. 670 C, 672 D, E (Mangey, Vol. II, p. 152), and *De Monarch.*, p. 824 A) was that the oracle consisted in the two small images or symbols of "light and righteousness," embroidered into the cunningly woven breastplate of the high priest, like the oracle-images of Egypt (*Diodorus Siculus*, I, 48, 75; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, 14, 34).²⁶

The views of mediæval exegetes of the Christian church, as well as those of the theologians of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, are carefully registered in that monumental work of Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), pp. 515, 525, 546, 748; also in the same scholar's article, "Urim," in the *Protestantische Realencyclopädie* (Vol. XVI, pp. 746 sqq.), revised for the second edition (Vol. XVI, pp. 226 sqq.) by Kautzsch.

Catholic commentators, generally, follow in the footsteps of the great Cardinal Bellarmin, who defended the Vulgate translation and derived Ūrim from ירה "to teach" and Tummīm from תמנן "be true," thus = *doctrina et veritas*.

Knobel (*Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, Erster Theil, 1837, p. 5, rm. 2) and others were of the opinion that the breastplate and the Ūrim and Tummīm were an imitation of the breastplate

our customs, as they could not possibly contradict this, called the breastplate the oracle." Cf. *Antiquities*, VIII, 3, 8; P. Grünbaum, *Die Priestergesetze bei Flavius Josephus* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1887), pp. 52 sq. The rabbins assert that, by means of the Ūrim, those letters which belonged to the answer shone in peculiar fulgency, either simultaneously or successively, while the Tummīm taught the high priest in which order they were to be read and composed into words; and since the names of the twelve tribes do not contain all the letters of the alphabet, it is asserted that those of the patriarchs were added. Professor Moore calls my attention to Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Tome I, p. 197, rm. 2: "Apulée (*Metam.*, lib. IX, 2) cite un oracle perpétuel employé par des prêtres syriens: Les bœufs attelés fendent la terre, afin que les campagnes produisent leurs fruits."

²⁶ Professor Moore writes to me as follows: "If you will look up the passage [in Philo] you will see how Spencer (and some before him) fell into this error: he etymologized ἀγαλματοφορέω 'support images,' and inferred that Philo represented the δύο ἀρεταί, δῆλωσις and ἀλήθεια as little idols. An examination of Philo's usage of the word, or of other late writers, shows that this literal etymology is entirely false. Mangey, in his note on the passage, proves this conclusively, and I have some other material to the same effect. Spencer, however, did not imagine the images woven or embroidered on the ἱμάτιον; that results from someone's attempt to reconcile Spencer's 'images' with Philo in *De Monarchia* (Mangey, II, 226), ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λογιέου διττὰ δφάσματα καταποικίλλει κ. τ. λ.; and the Egyptian parallels from Diod. and Aelian were not 'embroidered.'"

Ἀγαλματοφορέω "to carry an image; to carry the image (idea) of anything in one's own mind;" see Sophocles, *Greek Lexikon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York, 1887, p. 62. It is used by Philo; Athenagoras 997 B. (*Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. VI); Origen, III, 381 A; Euseb., II, 860 A, B, 872 B. Zonaras, *Lexicon*, 35: "Ἀγαλματοφορούμενος, ἀγάλματα, ἤτοι τύπους τῶν νοηθέντων φέρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Οὕτω Φίλων."

of the Egyptian high priest, which he wore on his breast during legal trials.²⁷ The analogy, however, is more superficial than real.²⁸

Bähr, *Symbolik*, Vol. II (pp. 134–41), thinks of something within a bag, a sacred pledge to the high priest of the enlightenment and perfection which he would receive from the Lord, when called upon to make sacred decisions.

Kalisch, *Exodus* (1855), p. 544, sees the sacred pledge in the twelve sacred gems themselves, that stimulate the priest to self-sacrifice and perfect sanctification.

August Köhler, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Gesch. Alten Testaments*, I (1875), pp. 349–50: “Gestalt und Beschaffenheit der U. und T. ist unbekannt; jedenfalls waran sie körperliche Gegenstände, welche von dem Hohepriester auf oder wahrscheinlicher in seinem Brustschilde getragen wurden. . . . Später gelten die Aussprüche der Propheten dem Alten Testamente als eine *Fortsetzung* der Willensäußerung Jehovah’s.” Also see Vol. II, 2, 557, rm. (against Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra und Nehemiah*, p. 18; Stade, *Geschichte*², Vol. II, pp. 103 sqq.; Ewald, *Geschichte*³, Vol. IV, p. 222).

J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*³ (1886), p. 412, rm. 1, says: “Die Thummim hat Freytag (*Lexic. Arabicum* unter *tamimat*)²⁹ ausserordentlich glücklich mit den arabischen *Tamâim* verglichen. Urim hängt vielleicht mit ארר zusammen (vgl. Iliad 1, 11, und Numb. 22:23); die beiden Worte der Formel scheinen sich gegensätzlich zu ergänzen.” In his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (“Reste arabischen Heidentums”), 2d ed., Vol. III, pp. 144, 167, Wellhausen rejects this interpretation of Freytag and Lagarde, and maintains that Arabic *tamîma* is simply the translation of the Greek τέλεσμα. “Urim und Thummim müssen ursprünglich zwei Lose gewesen sein, denen bei dem Orakel eine beliebige Alternative als Bedeutung beigelegt wurde.”

W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (2d ed., London, 1895), p. 292, note 1, writes: “In ancient times the priestly oracle of Urim and Thummim was a sacred lot. . . .

²⁷ Also the names of the oracle were derived from the Egyptian, tummim from Egyptian *ma* + article = *tma* = “truth;” and urim from Coptic *eroyōini* = “illumination, revelation.”

²⁸ See Vatke, *Religion*, p. 681; Dillmann on Exod. 28:30; Riehm, “Licht und Recht” in his *Handwörterbuch*, Vol. I, p. 916; Baudissin, *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 70, 71. Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897), pp. 280, 281, argues again for the Egyptian origin of the ארר and the Urim and Thummim.

²⁹ The same observation was made also, independently of Freytag, by Paul de Lagarde in his *Prophetæ chaldaice*, p. xlvi.

This sacred lot was connected with the ephod, which in the time of the Judges was something very like an idol. Spencer, therefore, seems to be right in assuming a resemblance in point of form between the priestly lot of the Urim and Thummim and divination by Teraphim (*De Legibus Ritualibus*, lib. III, c. 3).” So also Professor Moore (*Judges*, 1895, p. 382), who writes to me: “Spencer was not the first to point out this (Christ. de Castro, 1615, etc.).”

Schwally, in Stade's *ZATW.*, Vol. XI (1891), p. 172, says: “Der Eid ist ein bedingter Fluch, vgl. den Sprachgebrauch von אָלָהּ. Gerade der Zusammenhang von ‘fluchen’ und ‘losen’ schimmert noch in dem Urim- und Tummim-Orakel durch. Denn *Urim* gehört höchst wahrscheinlich אֲרַר אֲרַר fluchen.”—In תַּמִּים Schwally finds the idea of “blessing” (בִּרְכָה).

W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Bd. II (1894), pp. 93 sq., says: “Nach 1 Sam. 28:6, Deut. 33:8, etc., war das Mittel, wie die Befragung des Ephod geschah, die *urim* und *tummim*. Was aber unter diesen Ausdrücken zu verstehen ist, sagt keine Stelle, eine durchaus begreifliche Erscheinung, denn der älteren Zeit war diese Einrichtung bekannt, die spätere Zeit aber hatte selbst keine sichere Kenntnis davon. . . . Es waren wol zwei heilige Loose, beziehungsweise, Steine, von denen der eine bejahende, der andere verneinende Antwort bedeutete. Kam keines der Loose beim Werfen (הוֹרָה) der Loose zum Vorschein, so wies das auf den Unwillen Jahwes, der die Antwort verweigerte (1 Sam. 14:37; 28:6). Die Bedeutung der Wörter Urim und Tummim ist völlig dunkel.”³⁰

H. Strack, in “Strack und Zöckler's Kurzgefasster Kommentar, Altes Testament,” I. *Genesis–Numeri* (1894), p. 254: “Wir wissen nur, dass die Hohepriester vor dem Exil vermittelt der *U.* und *T.* Gottesbescheid einholten. Die *U.* und *T.* sind auch da gemeint wo einer Befragung Jahwes mittelst des Ephods Erwähnung geschieht; 1 Sam. 23:9; 30:7 bringt der Hohepriester Ebjathar den Ephod zu David. Hierher gehört auch 1 Sam. 14:3 und 37; vs. 18 ist (wie Keil anerkannt) nach LXX zu lesen.”

Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums untersucht* (1889), pp. 26, 27: “Der Hohepriester allein darf in dem Ornate, welchen er bei den gewöhnlichen heiligen

³⁰ Thus also Bertholet, *Deuteronomium* (1899); H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 4te Aufl., p. 257, etc.

Handlungen anlegt, die Urim und Tummim tragen (Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8). Nur er kann das 'Recht der Urim vor Jahwe' verkündigen, wonach als göttlichem Orakel Israel sich zu richten hat (Num. 27:27)." Also see *ibid.*, pp. 140, 141, where on the basis of Neh. 7:65; Ezra 2:63 he says: "Es ist aber doch wohl unwahrscheinlich, dass erst ein exilisches oder nachexilisches Gesetz den Hohenpriester mit den Urim und Tummim ausstattete, ohne doch einen Repräsentanten dafür zu haben oder ohne über die Urim und Tummim zu verfügen." And in chap. viii, "Geschichtliches Ergebniss," Baudissin gives a sketch of the priestcraft in early Israel: "Wie es scheint, nur der jeweilige Oberpriester der grösseren Heiligthümer war im Besitz eines besonderen von dem linnenen unterschiedenen Ephod, in welchem die heiligen Orakel-Loose enthalten waren—das Vorbild der Urim und Tummim 'Licht und Recht' des späteren Hohenpriesters. Der zweite dieser Namen verweist noch darauf, dass die priesterliche Orakelertheilung ursprünglich vorzugsweise im Dienste der Rechtspflege stand. Um einen Rechtsstreit zu entscheiden, erschien man 'vor Gott,' d. h. man rief seine Entscheidung an durch die Loose des Priesters." (*Cf. ibid.*, p. 58 and rm. 1.)

Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 382, 407, 408: "Bei den alten Israeliten treffen wir, abgesehen von dem was als Zauberei später für illegitim erklärt wurde, nur *ein* legitimes Orakelmittel: das *Losorakel*. Dieses erscheint in engster Verbindung mit dem Ephod. . . . Genauer erfahren wir (1 Sam. 14:41), dass das Orakel aus zwei Losen bestand, von denen das eine *'urim*, das andere *tummim* hiess. Ihre Gestalt und Bedeutung scheint allgemein bekannt gewesen zu sein. Gewöhnlich bedeuten die Lose Ja und Nein," etc.

Driver, *Leviticus* (Haupt's polychrome edition of the Old Testament), p. 71, says: "*U.* and *T.* literally: the lights and the perfections."

T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology*, 1898, p. 75:³¹ "The 'Urim and Thummim' were simply two stones put into the pocket attached to the high priest's ephod; on them were written some such words as 'yes' and 'no.' Whichever stone was taken out, the alternative word upon it was looked upon as the divine decision. . . . *Cf. Jonah 1:7 sqq.*, where we read the

³¹ Printed for the larger part in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, No. 4.

mariners cast lots to find out on account of whom the storm was. No condemnation is expressed in the biblical narrative.”³²

Thenius-Löhr, *Die Bücher Samuelis*, 1898 (“Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament”), p. 60: “Mit dem Ephod war unzertrennlich verbunden das heilige Loos. . . . Das heilige Loos zu handhaben, war Sache eines Berufspriesters. Dieses priesterliche Orakel existiert neben dem prophetischen. In älteren Zeiten scheint man das priesterliche dem prophetischen vorgezogen zu haben. Wenigstens hört David auf, Gad um Rat zu fragen, sobald Ebjathar mit dem Ephod zu ihm gekommen ist (1 Sam. 22:10; 23:9; 28:6; cf. 22:5).”

Kautzsch, in the *Textbibel des Alten und Neuen Testamentes* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 288 of the “Appendix to the New Testament,” merely says: “Urīm und Tummīm, d. h. wahrscheinlich ‘Licht und Unschuld.’ Die heiligen Lose, durch welche die Priester den Willen Gottes erkundeten. Wie es nach 1 Sam. 14:41 scheint brachte das Los Urīm die Schuld dessen ans Licht, wegen dessen Gott befragt wurde, dagegen das Los Tummīm die Unschuld.”³³

Many other citations could be added to these, but all agree more or less closely with the views given above.³⁴

In general we may summarize, “that the Ūrīm and Tummīm have been identified with (a) stones in the high priest’s breast-plate, (b) sacred dice, (c) little images of ‘truth’ and ‘justice,’ such as are found hung round the neck of an Egyptian priest’s mummy” (Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 33).

³² That this passage should have anything to do with the Ūrīm and Tummīm is only one of the many strange idiosyncrasies found in this dissertation. For a general estimate of the book see Morris Jastrow, Jr., in this JOURNAL, Vol. XV, pp. 172, 173.

³³ See also Kautzsch in *Protestant. Realencyclopädie*, 2^{te} Aufl., Vol. XVI, pp. 227, 228.

³⁴ See Siegfried and Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente* (1893), p. 18; Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, 3^{te} Aufl., Bd. II (1848), pp. 643-8; Wittichen in Schenkel’s *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. 2 (1869), p. 403; and Steiner, *ibid.*, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 851-3; G. Klaiber, *Das priesterliche Orakel der Israeliten*, Stuttgart, 1865; Riehm’s *Handwörterbuch*, 2^{te} Aufl., Vol. I, pp. 914-18; Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 471-3, 505 sq., 517 sq.; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), pp. 175, 253. Additional literature is also found in Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, Vol. I, p. 5, rm. 2; Kalisch, *Exodus*, pp. 542-5; Ad. Kinzler, *Die biblischen Altertümer*, 6^{te} Aufl. (Calw und Stuttgart), 1884, pp. 127-9; and Robert Tuck, *A Handbook of Biblical Difficulties*, New York (no date), Vol. I, pp. 431-3.—S. F. Hancock, “The Urim and the Thummim,” *Old Testament Student* (Vol. III, March, 1884, pp. 252-6), is quite unsatisfactory; as is also H. E. Dosker, “The Urim and Thummim,” *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, October, 1892, pp. 717-30. Urim, according to Dosker, is the means of divine revelation, while Thummim that of divine decision and judgment, both constituting the legitimate priestly revelation of God in contrast to the presumably illegitimate one by means of the teraphim. A very convenient summary is also given in Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel*, pp. 217, 218, with which compare the article “Urim and Thummim” in Smith’s *Dictionary of the Bible* (London), Vol. III (1893), pp. 1600-1606.

III.

The first tablet of the Babylonian account of the creation, of which thus far only mutilated copies have been found, relates the creation of the gods Luchmu and Lachamu, An-šar, and Ki-šar; Anu, Bēl, and Ēa; and probably also of the other gods. Chaos was giving place to order. But the gods were not allowed to live in peace, for Tiāmat, their mother, turned in hatred against them, and with their father Apsū, the primeval ocean, plotted their destruction. The first tablet ends with a description of the eleven monsters which Tiāmat spawned to aid her in the fight against the gods; and

i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-par (?-ut) iš-ku-nu[-ši pu-ux-ru?] u-ša-aš-qi ⁽¹⁾ Kin-gu ina bi- ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu [uš-rab-bi] a-li-kut max-ri pa-an um- ma-ni mu-'ir-u-ut pu-ux-ri na-aš ⁽²⁾ kakkē ti-iç-bu-tu ti- bu-u a-na[-an-ti] šu-par(?-ut) tam-xa-ri ra- ab(-)šik-ka-tu-tu(-ti) ip-qid-ma [qa]-tuš-šu u-še-ši- ba-aš-šu ina [karri (kussi?)] a(d)-di ta-a-ka ina puxur ilāni u-šar-bi-ka	She exalted among the gods her sons, whom she had borne, Kingu, and made him greatest among them (saying): "To march before the host, let that be thy mission, Command the battle-signal, the advance to the attack." To be foremost in war, supreme in the fight, She intrusted to him, and placed him upon a throne (saying): "With my charm and spell I have raised thee to power among the gods.
ma-li-kut (-ku-ut) ilāni gim- ra[-at]-su-nu qa-tuk[?-ka uš-mal-li] lu-u-šur-ba-ta-(m)a xa-'i-ri e-du-u at-ta li-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli kāl[? kibrāti?]	The dominion over all the gods I have intrusted to thee. Lofty thou shalt be, thou my chosen(?) spouse; Great be thy name in all [the world?]."
To prove this and to show to the other gods that Kingu was, indeed, supreme,	
id-din(-šum)-ma tup-šimāti i-ra-at-su u-šat-me-ix ka-ta qib[īt-]ka la in-nin- na[-a li-kun çi-it pi-i-ka] in-na-nu ⁽¹⁾ Ki-(i)n-gu šu-uš- qu-u le(?)-qu-u [¹ a-nu-ti] ana ilāni [ma-r]i-e-šu (= ša) ši-ma[-tu iš-ti-mu]	She gave him the <i>Tablets of Des- tiny</i> , and laid them upon his breast (saying): ³⁵ "Thy command be never annulled, the word of thy mouth be au- thority." Thus exalted and having received the power of Anu, ³⁶ Kingu ruled over the gods, her children. ³⁷

³⁵ I. e., hung them around his neck.

³⁶ Equaling Anu in power.

³⁷ For text and translation see Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das babylonische Welt schöpfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896), 160 pp.—Peter Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890), pp. 261-364, and *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* (= *KB.*, Vol. VI), 1. Teil (Berlin, 1900), pp. 2-48; Heinrich Zimmern's excellent translation published as an appendix (pp. 401-20) to

The second tablet begins with a *verbatim* report of the situation described just now. The gods are greatly distressed, and not one dares to stand up against Tiāmat and fight her host. An-šar, Anu, and even Ēa, the god of the unfathomable wisdom, shrink from meeting the terrible enemy. Thereupon Marduk,³⁸ the son of Ēa,³⁹ volunteers to fight the monster, but on the condition that :

šum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir	“When, forsooth, I have become
gi-mil-li-ku-un	your avenger,
a-kam-me Ti-āmat-ma u-bal-	Conquering Tiāmat and thus
laṭ ka-šu-un	saving your life,
šuk-na-a-ma pu-ux-ru šu-ti-	Then assemble the gods, them all,
ra i-ba-a šim-ti	and proclaim my control as su-
	preme.
ina Ub(p)-šu-(uk)ken-na-ki	In Ubšukenna ⁴⁰ then enter ye
mit-xa-riš xa-diš tiš-ba-ma	all joyfully, and
ep-šu pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-	my word, instead of thine, shall
ma ši-ma-tu lu-šim-ma	assume control.”

Ubšukenna (= Chamber of Fates) was the assembly room of the gods, where, according to later Babylonian belief, the gods determined on New Year's day (zag muk (k) u)⁴¹ the lot for king and nation. Many Assyriologists have connected with this Babylonian festival the Hebrew *Pūrīm*, especially Jensen, in Wildeboer's commentary on Esther (p. 173):⁴² “פּוּרִים soll Los heißen. Im Assyrischen ist pūru (oder būru) jetzt wenigstens in der Bedeutung ‘Stein’ gesichert. Die Etymologie von

Hermann Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895); H. Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 88-98. There are also French translations by MM. Jules Oppert and Joseph Halévy. In addition to these compare L. W. King, *First Steps in Assyrian* (London, 1898), pp. 122-60, and *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* (*ibid.*, 1899), pp. 53-120; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments* (London, 1899), pp. 1-21; Geo. A. Barton, “Tiāmat” in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 3-27; and A. H. Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I (1888), pp. 122-46. (See the present writer's article in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IX, pp. 9-16.) We also refer to Morris Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (“Handbooks on the History of Religions”), Boston, 1898, chap. xxi: “The Cosmogony of the Babylonians” (pp. 407-53, 724-7); to Ira Maurice Price, *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, 2d ed. (1900), chap. vii (pp. 80 *sqq.*); and to the excellent articles of Alfred Jeremias on “Marduk” in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Vol. II, cols. 2340-72 (1895), and of Zimmern-Cheyne on “Creation” in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I (1899), cols. 938-54.

³⁸ On Marduk see Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Part X, pp. 586, 587, where most of the recent literature is mentioned.

³⁹ See the excellent article “Oannes” by Alfred Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Vol. III (1899), cols. 577-93; *Concise Dictionary*, p. 2; Halévy, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, Vol. XVII, p. 189; Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, p. 94, rm. 2; Georg Hoffmann, *ZA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 272 *sqq.* (§§ 17-20).

⁴⁰ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 11; Delitzsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 135, and *Handwörterbuch*, p. 119; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 219 *sqq.*; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 5, rm. *.

⁴¹ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 275.

⁴² *Die Fünf Megilloth* (“Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament,” Abteilung 17, 1898).

גֹּרֵל und griechisch ψῆφος lassen vermuten, dass darum פָּרִי ein babylonisches Lehnwort ist. Auch das führt uns nach Babylonien." The Babylonian zagmuku (Berossus Σακαία) is the festival of Marduk, the god of the spring-tide sun. The account of the creation was probably written for the celebration of this day.⁴³

The gods acceded to the demand of Marduk and placed him on the royal throne. Surpassing his fathers in power, he took his place as decider and ruler. He went forth to meet Tiāmat and her host. A great battle followed, in which Marduk vanquished and slew his adversaries. Their opposition he trampled under his feet:

<p>u (il) Kin-gu ša ir-ta(b)-bu-u [] ina [e-li]-šu-un ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti il e-la-a [i]m-ni-šu i-kim-šu-ma tup-šimāti la si- [m]a-ti-šu</p>	<p>Moreover, Kingu, who had been great above all of them, He defeated and did unto him as he had done to the other gods(?). Then tore he from him the <i>Tablets of Destiny</i>, that did not belong to him.</p>
<p>i-na k(q)i-šib-bi ik-nu-ka(n)m- ma ir-[t]u-[u]š it-mu-ux</p>	<p>With his own seal he sealed them and laid them on his own breast.⁴⁴</p>

Then follows the account of the creation of heaven and the deep; of the constellations, determining the seasons of the year; and of the moon, the determiner of weeks and months. The last tablet seems to be a hymn in praise of Marduk, who thus had become the supreme god in the Babylonian pantheon.

The possession of the *Tablets of Destiny* (t(d)upšimāti)⁴⁵ carried with it, according to Babylonian belief, the supremacy among the gods and absolute dominion over mankind. They must have been originally the property of Anu; for Kingu, when he received the *Tablets of Destiny*, obtained thereby the

⁴³ On *Pürim* see Lagarde, *Pürim* (Göttingen, 1887), 53 pp. (> *furdigān*, *farwardigan*; the Persian New Year); also *Mittheilungen*, Vol. II, pp. 378-81, and, again, Vol. IV, p. 147, rm. 1. Lagarde's derivation was partly supported by Oppert in *Rev. des études juives* (1894), and combated by Halévy (*ibid.*, 1887).—H. Zimmern, "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Purimfestes," *ZATW.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157-69, derives *pürim* from Assyrian *puxru*, through the Aramaic, in the meaning of "meal." He suggested also the identity of Mordecai with god Marduk. See also Jensen, *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. VI, pp. 47 sqq., 209 sqq.; *ZA.*, Vol. X, pp. 339 sq.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 309 sqq.; Meissner, *ZDMG.*, Vol. L, pp. 296-301; H. Vuilleumier, *Rev. de théologie et de philosophie*, Vol. XXV, pp. 383-8, and C. H. W. Johns, *Expositor*, August, 1896, pp. 151-4; Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels* (1900), pp. 188 sqq., especially against Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode* (1892), pp. 42 sqq.; Peiser, *KB.*, Vol. IV, p. 106, rm. **; Winckler, *Alt-orientalische Forschungen*, Zweite Reihe, Band II, Heft 3 (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 334, 335, 350.

⁴⁴ Thus making them his own property.

⁴⁵ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 263; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, pp. 225, 226, 227; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 340, 341; *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, p. 412; also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 130, 131, *ad* Tel-Amarna, London, No. 82, ll. 35, 36.

power of Anu. We do not know how Tiāmat obtained them from Anu; but it may perhaps be inferred from the similar account in the legend of Zū, the god of storm and worker of evil. Zū was anxious to obtain the supremacy among the gods.⁴⁶ He waited for an opportunity, and when, in an unguarded moment, Bēl-Marduk⁴⁷ was washing himself in clear, bright water, Zū snatched away the *Tablets of Destiny*, assumed the power of Bēl-Marduk,⁴⁸ and gave decisions and uttered decrees. The gods were dismayed at the theft, and Bēl-Marduk strode in rage through the hall where the gods assemble.

I give here, in translation, the part of the Zū-legend with which we are concerned :

Also the commands of all the gods he shaped.
 He , he turned, he sent Zū.
 As he (Zū ?) had completed [this ?], he approached Bēl,
 who was living at the shore of bright, pure waters.
 His eyes beheld the insignia (?) of Bēl's supremacy,
 the royal cap of his sovereignty, and the robe of his godhead.
 Zū gazed also at the *tablets of destiny*, belonging to the god.
 And as he saw the father of the gods, the god of DUR-AN-KI,
 eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart.
 As Zū saw the father of the gods, the god of DUR-AN-KI,
 eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart :
 "I will take the *tablets of destiny* of the gods, even I ;
 and I will direct all the decrees (oracles) of the gods.
 I will [establish] a throne, and dispense commands ;
 I will rule over all the spirits of heaven !"
 And after his heart had planned the attack,
 he awaited the dawn of morning at the entrance to the palace (of the
 gods) which he had seen.
 Now, when Bēl had washed himself in the bright, pure waters,
 had ascended his throne, and placed upon his head the royal cap,
 Zū seized with his hand the *tablets of destiny* ;
 he took Bēl's supremacy, the power of giving commands.
 After Zū had fled away and [had turned ?] mountainward,
 grief was poured out, and cries resounded.
 Their father, their decider, their , Bēl,
 poured out his rage through the palace ;
 and the goddesses turned [to him ?] at his command (?).
 Then Anu opened his mouth and said,
 spoke unto the gods, his children :
 "Who will vanquish Zū and thus

⁴⁶ So admirably edited by Professor E. T. Harper in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, pp. 408-18, 465-75. See, now, Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, pp. 47 sqq.

⁴⁷ It is well known that Marduk was often identified in later time with the older god Bēl. Being at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, he was called the *bēlu par excellence*, and then ¹¹ Bēl. It is possible, however, that we have to do here with the older god Bēl. If so, the legend is probably older than that of the Creation-account, in which Anu seems to be the rightful possessor of the *Tablets of Destiny*, by whom they are transferred to (Bēl)-Marduk.

⁴⁸ The text reads: (1) Bēl-u-ti il-te-qi (na-du-u par-qi), corresponding to the le-qu-u ¹¹ A-nu-ti of the creation account.

make great his name among the nations of all the lands?"
 They called their leader, the son of Anu.
 And Anu spoke to him, and gave him the command.
 Adad, the leader they called, the son of Anu;
 and Anu spoke unto him, gave him this command:
 "Thou mighty, terrible Adad; let not thy attack be repulsed!
 Kill Zū with thy weapon!
 Then thy name shall be great in the assembly of the great gods.
 Thou shalt not have a rival among the gods thy brothers.
 Shrines shall exist and be built [unto thee];
 and in the four quarters [of the world] shall be established thy mansion.
 Yea, even in Ēkur shall enter thy mansion!
 Thou shalt be brilliant above the gods and mighty shall be thy name!"
 But Adad answered to this command,
 and spoke thus to his father Anu:
 "My father, who can go to the mountain that is inaccessible?
 Who among the gods, thy children, is like unto Zū?
 He has seized with his hand the *tablets of destiny*,
 has taken Bēl's supremacy, the power of giving commands.
 Zū has fled away and [has turned?] mountainward.
 The word of his mouth has [now the same power?] as [thus far] that of
 the gods of DUR-AN-KI.
 He [that was mighty before?] is now considered as dirt.
 But [to] his (Zū's) command bow even [the gods]."
 Thereupon Anu told Adad not to go.

The same refusal Anu receives at the hands of Ištār and her son Bara.

We may infer from the reference to Zū's final end that some god (Šamaš?) undertook the task of regaining the *Tablets of Destiny*, with which Zū had fled to his mountain home, by catching him in his net.⁴⁹

The power which Marduk had as the possessor of the *Tablets of Destiny* must have descended from him to his son, the god Nebo (Nabū). The two gods are continually associated in Babylonian literature. It was the statue of Nabū, of Borsippa, and that of Marduk, of Babylon, the two gods residing in Ēzida and Ēsagila, respectively, that were carried about in solemn procession at the New Year's festival (akītu), that is, on the day when the fate was decreed for king and the nation.⁵⁰ Nabū was the great and lofty messenger of the gods to mankind.⁵¹ He it is that holds together the world.⁵² He is the patron

⁴⁹ Told in the "Legend of Etana," *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, pp. 391-408, 439-63.

⁵⁰ Neb., i, 4; *KB.*, III (1), pp. 184-5, col. ii, 1-2; (2) 2-3, 14; 4-5, 16; V R. 46 a-b 20; *deluge*, 95; III R. 57 a 57.

⁵¹ I R. 51, No. 1 b 16, Na-bi-um mār ki-i-nim su-uk-ka-al-lam ġi-ri ši-it-lu-ṭu na-ra-am ¹¹ Marduk. Also see IV R. 14, No. 3 O 1-2 (¹¹ Na-bi-um = AN-AG), *KB.*, III (1), p. 46, ll. 11-12; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 145; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 500.

⁵² The rikis kālāma, II R. 60, No. 2, 28; pāqid kiššat nagbi, etc. V R. 43 c-d 27; Neb., i, 43; I R. 35, No. 2, 3; 51, No. 1 a 13.

of the scribes and the priests, and as such is called Nabū dup-šar gim-ri; also dup-šar Ē-sag-gil.⁵³ He is wisdom personified (AN-AG); the god who gives oracles (ba-nu-u pi-riš-ti) and who reveals the decision of the gods. These and many more titles of Nabū are mentioned on plates 43 and 46 in V Rawlinson. According to J. Halévy he is the prophet-god, the mediator between God and man.

In early inscriptions we find him called also ilu taš-me-tum = god of revelation,⁵⁴ a title later applied to a goddess (Nabū's consort Nanā?), mentioned always together with Nabū.⁵⁵

In an inscription published by Father Scheil in the *Recueil des Travaux*, Vol. XVI, p. 177, 3 (end), Nabū is called na-ši duppū ši-mat ilāni, and on tablet K. 140, 3, we read: ⁽¹⁾ Nabū nāš dup-ši-mat ilāni. Dupšimāti = *Tablets of Destiny* is usually written DUB-NAM-MEŠ, K. 3454 and K. 3935, ii, 7, 20; Creation-account, III, 47 and 105, etc. In addition to *Tablets of Destiny*, we find mentioned also tablets on which are inscribed the sins of mankind, e. g., K. 2333 R 9 sqq., duppī arnēšu xiṭātišu qillātišu māmātišu tumāmātišu ana mē linnadā: "may the tablet recording his misdeeds, sins, perversities, spells, and oaths be cast into the water (and thus blotted out forever)".⁵⁶ Lines 22–24 of the Stelen-inschrift S¹ read:

(1) Na-bi-um dup-šar Ē-sag-gil
ū-me balāṭi-šu arkūti ina dup-pi liš-ṭur
ši-mat la-ba-ri li-šim ši-mat-su

"May Nabū, the scribe of Ēsagil, put down on his tablet his days for a long life and give him old age as his portion."⁵⁷ On

⁵³ Lehmann, *Šamašsumuktn*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 11, 1. 22; 57. His ideogram AN-PA described him as the god of the writing stylus.

⁵⁴ Literally: god of hearing, II R. 59 a-b 58.

⁵⁵ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 130 sqq., and, on the other hand, Tiele, *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, p. 187: "Nabū ist eine spätere Conception des alten Gottes von Borsippa, und dieser war ursprünglich kein anderer als Marduk, als ilu tašmēti: Gott der Offenbarung." Strassmaier, *AV.*, No. 8827; Haupt, *ASKT.*, 32, 747, KUR-NU-UN | LAL | 11 taš-me-tum; II R. 48 a-b 39 (Brünnow, 10125, 10133); III R. 66 O c 27; 43, 39. *ZA.*, I, 199, 2, Taš-me-tum dam-qat (a proper name); also ^(1a) Taš-me-tum-mu-li-qat, Strassmaier, *AV.*, No. 8828. The reading Taš-me-tum (as against -šip-) is assured by the variant in *Berlin Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II, 1, 362, ad B 67, 25, šanat Taš-mi-tum. Nabū and Tašmētum are mentioned mostly in colophons, e. g., S^a, col. vi, 29, ša ⁽¹⁾ AK (u) ^(1a) Taš-me-tum, etc.; II R. 21, 32; 23, 41; 27, 24; 38, 64; IV², 14, No. 3, R 4; 48 colophon, 2. Ideogram also K. 3464, 40; Rm. 122, 53; Rm. 274, 10; K. 3412, 25, ^(1a) taš-me-tum kal-lat Ēsagila. According to J. Halévy, *Rev. de l'histoire des religions* (1888), p. 20, tašmētu = "chose entendue, tradition, oracle."

⁵⁶ Cf. Zimmern, *Šurpū*, ii, 188 sqq.

⁵⁷ Lehmann, *Šamašsumuktn*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 11, 57.

the other hand, in Strassmaier, *Leyden*, No. 160, l. 9, we read: Nabū (amēl) dup-šar Ē-sag-gil ū-mu-šu ar-ku-tu li-kar-ri, "may Nabū shorten (literally: blot out) his future days."

It has been shown by Tallqvist in his edition of the series *Maqlū*⁵⁸ (I, pp. 24 *sqq.*) and by Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 87, that the functions of the Babylonian priests as interpreters, prophets, and enchanters are derived ultimately from Ēa and his son Marduk, and we may assume here, on the basis of many passages, also from Nabū, the son of Marduk and prophet of the great gods. The functions of the Babylonian priest were: (1) the same as those of the Roman *haruspex*, the examiner of omens, hence bārū from barū "see, examine;" (2) to deliver oracles (tērēti; *sgl.* tērtu); hence he is called also mudū tērti,⁵⁹ "one knowing oracles" (K. 7331); and (3) to prophesy, foretell.

The seer (bārū) consulted the god, whose answer was either Yes or No. Quite often the god sends to his people an ūrtu,⁶⁰ a command to do, or not to do, something. Ūrtu belongs to the same stem from which is derived tērtu, the *terminus technicus* for oracle.⁶¹ The gods speak (tamū, utammū) to the priest (bārū) the oracle, which they reveal to him; and the oracle is called the tamit pirišti "the mysterious word, revelation."

IV.

I cannot help believing that God "at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past," not only unto the fathers by the prophets, but to all mankind, in ways which it is now almost impossible to trace precisely. With this conviction as a starting-point I long ago came to the conclusion⁶² that the mythological account of the *Tablets of Destiny*, as found in the Babylonian account of the creation and the legend of *Zū*, and the Old Testament *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm*, both shaping the destiny of king and nation, revert to the same fountain-head and origin.

⁵⁸ *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlū*. Nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum herausgegeben von Knut L. Tallqvist. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ, Tom. XX, No. 6.)

⁵⁹ ME-A-ZU = mu-di-e ter-te, Bowler 252, R 11; Brünnow 10380.

⁶⁰ umā'ir ūrtu kabittu, etc.

⁶¹ On the relation of tērtu to תִּרְתִּי see below, p. 222.

⁶² This paper was first announced for the December, 1891, meeting of the Society of Biblical Exegesis in Philadelphia, Pa.; but was not read at that time.

I may be wrong; if so, let us begin over again; and may some other student be more successful. Let me, at once, ask the question:

Is it really beyond doubt that the earliest religious conceptions of a nation belonging to the same family as the Hebrews, and living at no time far from that people—perhaps at one time even together with it, if Gen. 11:29 and 31 tell the true story—must necessarily have originated from below, if I may be allowed to say so, must be mere human invention, while the other nation⁶³ received its fundamental religious instruction from above, by means of special divine revelation? Is it not more probable that, from a common basis, there developed, in the course of time, among the Assyrio-Babylonians the belief in the *Tablets of Destiny*, and among the early Hebrews the belief in that powerful oracle “the Ūrim and the Tummīm”? Notwithstanding the fragmentary account of Babylonian literature and the scanty report of Old Testament writers, we can yet gather some points common to both:

1. According to Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8, etc., the Ūrim and Tummīm were resting within the breastplate, *i. e.*, on the breast of the high priest; in the Babylonian account we find the *Tablets of Destiny* resting on the breast of their possessor.⁶⁴ Only as long as they were resting on the breast of the god in the one nation, and on that of the high priest in the other nation, were they efficacious.

2. In the Babylonian account only gods were the lawful possessors of the *Tablets of Destiny*; but here only those gods who, in some way, were considered the messengers and mediators between the other gods and mankind (Marduk and Nabū). Originally they were undoubtedly the property of the god Anu and came into the hands of Tiāmat and Kingu, in a way we know not. When Nabū became the chief mediator between the gods and mankind, he possessed the *dupšimāti*. In Israel the Ūrim and Tummīm were intrusted by Yahweh to Moses and through him to the high priest as the representative of Yahweh and the mediator between God and nation, to whose decision, by means of the Ūrim and Tummīm, even kings bowed in obedience.

3. There is, to be sure, in the Assyrio-Babylonian records, as far as we possess them now, no statement as to the exact number

⁶³ Tribe or clan, whatever it may have been in the beginning.

⁶⁴ See also the book of Jubilees, chap. 8; Gesenius¹³, p. 21.

of *Tablets of Destiny*. We know that there was more than one;⁶⁵ it may not be too hazardous to assume that there were only two, one lying on each breast, the one revealing (or prognosticating?) good fortune, the other misfortune. To the possessor of such tablets the Assyrio-Babylonian belief could not but ascribe supreme authority and dominion over all mankind. The Old Testament account of the Ūrīm and Tummīm indicates that there were only two objects (lots?).⁶⁶ Have the other two "Tablets of Destiny," the two tables of testimony, the tables of stone, written with the finger of God, which Moses brought from Sinai, after all, some connection, direct or indirect, with the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny*, or with the Ūrīm and the Tummīm?

4. We are told that Marduk, after he had torn the *Tablets of Destiny* from the breast of his dead foe, Kingu, sealed them with his own seal. There may be a reminiscence of this in Exod. 28:21, where it is said of the twelve stones upon the breastplate: "And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, engraved in the manner of a seal for each of the twelve tribes." The use of twelve *stones*, one for each of the twelve tribes, in addition to the two lots (of stone) is perhaps of some significance in this connection.

5. Marduk, bearing on his breast the *Tablets of Destiny*, presided at the annual assembly of the gods where the fate was determined and the lot was cast for king and nation. It is the general opinion that the Ūrīm and Tummīm were consulted only in cases where the safety of king or nation was concerned.

These features, common to both—to which some other points, of minor importance, might be added—have led us to assume that the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny* and the Ūrīm and Tummīm were originally one and the same, a means by which, according to the belief of the early ancestors of both nations, the divine powers (or power) communicated their will and their decisions to king and nation.

⁶⁵ We infer this from DUB-NAM-MEŠ (= du p š i m ā t i), written thus in the creation account.

⁶⁶ Ezra 2:63 (= Neh. 7:65) forbids us to assume post-exilic, or even exilic, origin of the belief in the Ūrīm and the Tummīm on the part of the Israelites. Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums*, p. 141, speaks to the point when he says: "Da die Urim und Tummim als vorhanden auch weiterhin nicht erwähnt werden, und Josephus über dieselben offenbar nicht mehr genau unterrichtet ist, so fehlten sie vermuthlich dem nach-exilischen Hohenpriester auf die Dauer. Dann ist es aber doch wohl unwahrscheinlich, dass erst ein exilisches oder nachexilisches Gesetz den Hohenpriester mit den Urim und Tummim ausstattete, ohne doch einen Repräsentanten dafür zu haben oder ohne über die Urim und Tummim zu verfügen."

Of great interest, in this connection, are Cheyne's remarks on the "Contents of the Ark" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 307): "As to its contents, the inscribed 'tables of stone,' which we should never have expected to find in the Holy of Holies, were but a substitute of the imagination for some mystic symbol or representation of Yahweh. Of what did that symbol consist? We are, of course, bound to do what we can to minimize the fiction or error of the Deuteronomist; but we must not deviate from the paths of historical analogy. These duties are reconciled by the supposition that the ark contained two sacred stones (or one) [*cf.* Vatke, *Die Religion des A. T.*, p. 321; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 457 sq.; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 370. There were, and still are, two sacred stones, a black and a white, built into the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca; see William Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 297 sq.]. This view, no doubt, implies a survival of fetishism; but there are traces enough of fetishism elsewhere in Hebrew antiquity to justify it. The stones (or stone) must have been ancient in the extreme. They (or it) originally had no association with Yahweh; they represented the stage when mysterious personality and power were attached to lifeless matter. Being portable, however, they were different from the sacred stones of Bethel, Beth-shemesh, Shechem, and En-rogel, and are most naturally viewed as specimens of those bætyls, animated stones, which, according to Sanchoniathon, were formed by the heaven-god, and were presumably meteorites."

Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, pp. 368 sq., says: "Die Frage, was die Lade [*i. e.*, the ark] ursprünglich bedeutete, wird von der Tradition im Anschluss an die übereinstimmenden Berichte des Pentateuch dahin beantwortet, dass in der Lade die Gesetzestafeln liegen, die Mose am Sinai von Jahwe bekommen habe. . . . Die Theorie von den Gesetzestafeln ist leicht als eine spätere Umdeutung erkenntlich. . . . Nicht die Lade verdankt den Gesetzestafeln ihre Existenz, sondern umgekehrt; mit andern Worten: Die Lade genoss schon lange vorher eine Verehrung, ehe man darauf kam, in ihr Gesetzestafeln zu suchen. Nirgends in den angeführten Erzählungen der BB. Sam. ist darauf angespielt, dass die Lade Tafeln enthalte. . . . Diese Auffassung der Lade muss also noch jünger sein als die betreffenden Berichte in den BB. Sam. Die Tradition von den Gesetzestafeln kann sich

allerdings nicht aus nichts gebildet haben; wir werden vielmehr daraus schliessen müssen, dass die Lade schon in der ältesten Zeit Steine oder *einen* Stein enthielt," etc.

Granting, in the main, the correctness of these views, it seems to me that here also a connection can be shown to have existed between the Ūrīm and Tummīm, the *Tablets of Destiny*, the (two) tables of stone (Exod. 24:12), and the two tables on which, according to the belief of the Old Testament, the Decalogue was engraven. The Old Testament records, later than the books of Samuel, place these two tables in the ark of the covenant, calling them "the tables of the Law;" in other words, this belief gained ground at about the time when the consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrīm and the Tummīm appears to have ceased.

We read Exod. 24:12: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and remain there, and I will give thee *together with the tables of stone both the Law and the Commandment* (אֲתָתֶּנְתִּי לָהֶם הַתּוֹרָה וְהַמִּצְוֹת), which I have written for their [the people's] instruction." Without arguing about the early or late character of the Hebrew forms and expressions used here, it seems to me that the idea expressed represents the earliest stage of the accounts of the giving of the Law; an older tradition than the other references in the Old Testament (*i. e.*, Exod. 31:18, "And he gave unto Moses, when he made an end of speaking with him on Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God;" also see 32:15, 16; 34:1, 4, 28, 29; Deut. 4:13; 5:22; 9:10, 11, all of which represent a later development of the Hebrew belief concerning *the tables of stone*). In Exod. 24:12 "the tables of stone" appear distinct from "the Law" and "the Commandment." Thus also the LXX: Καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λίθινα, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἃς ἔγραψα. [Professor Moore writes: "Is the text of 24:12 sound? The contrary is the prevailing opinion." But my interpretation differs from the prevailing view concerning this verse.]

It seems to me that "the tables of stone," given at the same time with "the Law" and "the Commandment," have no connection at all with the giving of the Decalogue,⁶⁷ but are a reminiscence of a primitive Semitic belief in divine *Tablets of Destiny*.

⁶⁷ On the other hand see Friedrich Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes untersucht* (Königsberg, 1900), although the author admits (p. 4) that the account in Exod., chap. 34, compared with that in Exod., chap. (s. 21-) 24, is "einfacher, menschlicher, weniger miraculhaft." See also *ibid.*, pp. 59-61, where Giesebrecht argues for the early date of these chapters.

Now, the Ūrīm and Tummīm are mentioned as something known to Moses and the people, and are believed to have been of stone. Is it too bold to assume that "the tables of stone" in Exod. 24:12 are the same as the Ūrīm and Tummīm, at least according to the belief of the early Hebrews? It is noteworthy that, after David, there is, in the Old Testament, no further mention of the consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm, and that, after Solomon had placed the ark in the Holy of Holies, we hear no more concerning the Ūrīm and Tummīm. We agree with Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar," Abt. IX, 1899), p. 58: "Dass die Lade noch zu Davids und Salomos Zeit eine andere Bedeutung hatte, ersieht man klar aus I Sam. 5, 6, II Sam. 6: sie war das numen praesens, nicht Behälter von Gesetzestafeln; ebenso auch bei JE, Num. 10:35, 36." ["It is noteworthy that they are not mentioned in Deuteronomy"—George F. Moore.] With the rise of Hebrew prophecy, the consultation of God by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm fell into desuetude. But their importance and sacredness must have remained the same for many ages. They were, according to our conception of the belief of the writers of the Old Testament records, placed in the "ark of Yahweh;" and this became the *numen praesens*. In course of time the belief in the two tables of the Law, containing the ten commandments, gained more and more in importance, and they, in turn, became to later generations what the Ūrīm and Tummīm had been to earlier generations. But what had become of these two tables of the Law, written with the finger of God? Had anyone seen them? No! Yet where else could they be if not in the "ark of Yahweh" (2 Sam. 5:6 *sqq.*), which a later generation now called the "ark of the covenant"? There they were deposited—as Deut. 10:5 tells us—with a view to their safe-keeping and in token of their paramount importance. And so it came to pass that "the two tables of the Law" took the place of the Ūrīm and Tummīm in the ark of Yahweh, where they probably had been placed by Solomon. And thus 1 Kings 8:9 now consistently says: "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt."

If this view of the relation between the Ūrīm and Tummīm and the two tables of the Law, the ten commandments, is correct,

we have, in the Old Testament, a blending of an earlier and a later belief; the one, as Cheyne correctly says, a survival of fetishism, the other an advance toward that ethical monotheism of Amos and his successors (see also article "Decalogue" in Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 1049-1051). Both traditions assume Moses as the mediator between Yahweh and the nation. The Ūrīm and Tummīm, and the consultation of Yahweh by means of them, was more in consonance with the early beliefs and religious customs of the neighboring Semitic nations. As Israel advanced toward a more ethical monotheism, Yahweh grew more distant and communicated with his people by the more ethical medium of the decalogue, which again becomes subordinate, in importance, when Old Testament prophecy and prophets rule and sway the religious belief of the nation. Whether the ark, even in its oldest conception and form, antedates the Ūrīm and Tummīm, as we have interpreted them, cannot be determined. It seems to us that they are cotemporaneous, and that they must have had some connection, in the religious worship of the early nation, from their first existence.

Other fundamental religious conceptions, common to both nations, also developed in different directions in conformity with the general trend of each nation's religious convictions. I recall to the reader's mind the account of the creation, of the flood and its consequences, and of the institution of sabbath.⁶⁸ Neither nation borrowed these accounts from the other; both had them from time immemorial; but they developed them differently under different conditions.⁶⁹ When Babylonian mythology developed, the original conception of the *Tablets of Destiny* must have undergone changes, as we can infer from the account of the creation, which expresses the conceptions held by the Babylonians either at the time of the original composition of the account or at that of its last redactor. The fact that we have several accounts of the creation, going back, undoubtedly, to one and the same original conception, is evidence that Babylonian religious literature had its redactors and editors, as well as Old Testament literature.

⁶⁸ Where I find myself greatly in accord with Professor Jastrow's results, printed in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 350-52. See also Professor Toy in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII (1899), pp. 190-95.

⁶⁹ Only a few weeks ago Alfred Jeremias published a small pamphlet on *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* (= "Der Alte Orient," I, Heft 3), in which he points out some striking resemblances among the Babylonians to the religious conceptions of the Old Testament writers.

It is probably only the latest development of Babylonian religious belief that we find expressed in the account of the creation, just as we assume the same in the case of the Ūrīm and Tummīm of the Old Testament. In Israel, the development of a strict monotheism necessarily modified the conception of the Ūrīm and Tummīm also. To be sure, we find no description of the Ūrīm and Tummīm in the Old Testament; they are mentioned as something familiar and known to Moses and the people, an inheritance received from the time of their ancestors. The very fact that the Old Testament assumes that Moses and the people were familiar with and cognizant of the nature of the Ūrīm and Tummīm confirms, to some degree, my views concerning their early existence and original nature and significance. They were naturally connected with the functions of the high priest as the mediator between Yahweh and his people.

The etymology of the אֲרִיִּים and תַּמִּיִּים, suggested by Zimmern and others, is another proof of the correctness of the explanation given here.

It is a well-known fact that the so-called plural ending (ִיִּים) of the two words expresses the *pluralis intensivus*; they are plurals only in form, but not in meaning.

I connect אֲרִיִּים, not with אָרַר "curse, put under the ban," as Schwally and others have done, but with the Assyrian u'uru, the infinitive Piēl of a'aru, from which are derived also the nouns ūrtu "command, order, decision" (usually of the gods) and tērtu (originally of the same meaning).⁷⁰ Both occur frequently in Assyrio-Babylonian literature in sentences analogous in form to those in which we find Ūrīm and Tummīm used in the Old Testament. The plural אֲרִיִּים "fires" (*cf.* Isa. 24:15) has no doubt had some influence in shaping the analogous form אֲרִיִּים = ūrtu. תַּמִּיִּים I connect with the Assyrian tamū, Piēl tum m ū, verbal forms also belonging to the oracular language.

⁷⁰ So especially Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 91, rm. 2, and others. Ball, *Light from the East*, in the "List of Proper Names," translates *U.* and *T.* by "biddings and forbiddings(?)."

Professor Moore writes: "As the original nature and meaning of 'tablets'—if your hypothesis is right—do not exclude the use of these objects (as lots, apparently) to decide an alternative, so the foreign etymology of the names need not shut out a Hebrew popular etymology in which אֲרִיִּים—the unfavorable alternative—was connected with אָרַר and the other with תַּמִּיִּים. My opinion has been that they may first have been employed in cases of obscure crime, as a kind of ordeal by lot."

Professor H. P. Smith says: "With regard to your main thesis I should make a distinction between the documents. I think it altogether likely that the Priestcode with its elaborate breastplate was influenced by Babylonian conceptions and among others by the *Tablets of Destiny*. So far you have a strong case.—In the older documents I am not so certain of Babylonian influence—at least of direct Babylonian influence. The sacred lot so readily suggests itself as a means of determining the divine will that it might be a Canaanitish, Phœnician or Aramaic institution, or a direct product of the Hebrew religion."

If these derivations are correct, אִרְיִם and תְּמִיִם would correspond to the Babylonian ūrtu ("command, decision," mostly of the gods) and tamītu, a synonym of pirištu = oracle, oracular decision (of the gods).

That the original meaning of the two words and their significance were known even at the time when the Old Testament records, in which they are mentioned, were written, I almost doubt; that they were not known either to the Greek translators or to the early Massoretes I am firmly convinced.

V.

To strengthen the argument concerning the relation between the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny* and Babylonian oracular divination, on the one hand, and the Old Testament Ūrīm and Tummīm, on the other hand, I call attention to a number of technical terms used in the ritual of Hebrew and Babylonian religion and cult, which are either common to both or borrowed, on the part of the Hebrew, from the Babylonian. This has been pointed out by many Assyriologists and students of the Old Testament.

Thus the word קִפָּר in its technical meaning to "atone" is identical with the Assyrian kuppuru. The Syriac קִפָּר, with the same meaning, is borrowed either from the Babylonian or the Hebrew; and the Arabic كَفَّر again, in the same restricted meaning, from the Aramaic. See, especially, Lagarde, *Übersicht*, pp. 230 sqq.⁷¹

In Exod. 12:7 (where the institution of the passover is related) we read: "And they shall take of the blood, and strike it on the two side posts and on the lintel of the houses wherein they shall eat it." Compare with this the following sentence from a ritual-tablet for the āšipu (enchanter, sorcerer), col. iii, 19-21:

The enchanter shall go out of the kamū-gate, shall offer a lamb in the gate of the palace, and then cover with the blood of this lamb, the lintel(?)
 and the posts to the right and to the left of the gate of the palace.⁷²

⁷¹ Gesenius¹³, and literature given there; also Brown-Gesenius, p. 497; Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 383-9; Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 92.

⁷² Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger; erste Hälfte* (= Zweite Lieferung von *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, "Assyriologische Bibliothek," XII, 2), Leipzig, 1899, p. 126. The text reads as follows:

(amē) mašmašu ina bābi kamē uqqa-ma šu'[á]
 ina bāb ekalli inakki(-ki)ina dāmi urizi(-zi) šu-a-tum
 I-[LU] = askuppāti; so completed by Zimmern]
 LU-MAŠ u sib-bi-e imni u šumēli ša bāb ekal[li]

On LU-MAŠ. Zimmern has the note: "Vielleicht zu lesen māši 'Zwillinge,' vergl. dazu IV R. 21 b 30 sqq., wo es sich um kriegerische Zwillingsgestalten handelt, die inmitten,

The word פֶּסַח "passover" also belongs here. The latest concerning this word, on this side of the ocean, has been written by Professor Toy in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, pp. 178, 179. We read on p. 179: "If it is thus made probable that the verb (פֶּסַח) expresses a ritual motion, the noun will naturally mean 'dance.'⁷³ This sense is mentioned as conceivable in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, but is not approved. There seems, however, nothing improbable in the supposition that the old nomadic Hebrew Spring Festival should be called 'the dance,' this dance being the principal ritual ceremony of the year; the lamb offered would then be 'the lamb or sacrifice of the pesah,' and finally the term פֶּסַח would come to designate the feast or the lamb. Such a festival would naturally be connected with the offering of first-born animals (*cf.* Exod. 34:19); but the lamb sacrificed at a joyous nomadic feast would probably not be looked on as a substitute for men, and would not be called 'a lamb of exemption.'" Valuable as these remarks are, I cannot help siding with Zimmern,⁷⁴ who explains the word as probably borrowed from the Assyrio-Babylonian pašaxu, puššuxu, which is the *terminus technicus* for the "conciliation of the incensed deity." This etymology, again, appears to me far preferable to that of Fr. Hommel, who derives from the Egyptian "the much-debated *Pesakh* (Passah)."⁷⁵

We have in Hebrew the verb שָׁפַח (also found in Aramean, etc.) in the meaning of to "whisper, charm." According to W. Robertson Smith, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XIV (1885), p. 122, it meant originally something like serpent-charming.

beziehungsweise, links und rechts vom Thore als Schutzgeister aufgestellt werden. Beachte auch die Zwillingsterne LU ma-ši, über welche Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 47, 144 *sqq.*, handelt."

Zimmern's *Rituallafeln* are of the greatest importance for the study of comparative Semitic religion, and deserve careful attention and the closest study on the part of all students of Semitic languages and literatures. Especially noteworthy is his "Introduction" (pp. 81-85), to which we shall refer time and again.

⁷³ This observation, if I mistake not, was made several years before by Schwally: פֶּסַח from *pasāx*, II = "dance," not from *pasāx*, I = "pass by." See also Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus*, p. 191: "Das Passahopfer ist unverkennbar ein Frühlingsfest der Hirten, bei dem die Erstlinge dargebracht wurden, aber kein Totenfest."

⁷⁴ Gesenius¹³, p. 671; *Rituallafeln*, p. 92, rm. 9.

⁷⁵ *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897), pp. 291, 292: "In the case of no other religious festival do we find so much stress laid upon its memorial character as in this (*cf.* Exod. 12:14), and there must be something more than mere coincidence in the fact that the Egyptian word *sacha*' (radically related to the Babylonian *sakhāru* = 'to seek, to reflect upon,' and the common Semitic element *zakāru* [see, however, Zimmern, *Theologische Rundschau*, Vol. I, p. 323]) means 'to call to mind.' This shews that the initial *pe* must be a form of the article which was in general use in the time of the later empire, and that, therefore, the word was originally *pe-sakh*."

The same word occurs in Assyrian, where *luxxušu* is used of the whispering of charms and spells, mostly into the ear of the sacrificial animal. Zimmern suggests that the Hebrew in this restricted meaning was borrowed from the Assyrio-Babylonian.⁷⁶ I would suggest that לַהֵשׁ and *laxašu* are of common descent from an early time, when the members of the North Semitic family of languages were more closely united than they were at a later period.

Common to Hebrew and Assyrio-Babylonian is the word כַּמֶּר, "an (idol-) priest" = *amēlka-mi-rum* of the Tel-Amarna letters: "wise man, sage," etc.; it occurs also in cognate languages, for which see Baudissin, *Geschichte*, pp. 223, 239, 241, 270; Brown-Gesenius, p. 485; *Concise Dictionary*, p. 398, col. 2, where passages and further literature are given.—There is also the Hebrew כַּהֵן and Arabic كَاهِن "a seer;" "both must have been originally identical (both alike being guardians of an oracle at a sanctuary); only in later times their function diverged. The كَاهِن gradually lost his connection with the sanctuary, and sank to be a mere diviner; the כַּהֵן rose and acquired fuller sacrificial functions."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ In his excellent review of Bruno Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* in the *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1898, p. 819: "לַהֵשׁ II 1, *luḫūšu* technischer Ausdruck vom Murmeln der Zaubersformeln, wie hebr. לַהֵשׁ (in dieser speciellen Bedeutung vielleicht erst aus dem Assyrischen entlehnt?)." A slight knowledge of Assyrian would have helped T. Witton Davies, *Magic*, etc., considerably in the treatment of the verb לַהֵשׁ. I quote here a sentence or two from pp. 50, 51: "The verb לַהֵשׁ [*sic!*] (*lakhash*), found in Aramaic and in Rabbinical Hebrew with the sense of 'to hiss, as a serpent,' is in my opinion a denominative from לַהֵשׁ (*lakhash*), which is merely a dialectical variety of נַחֵשׁ [*sic!*] (*nakhash*), a serpent. ל and ך are both liquids, and both tend to fall out, as the nun in פִּי verbs, and the ל in לִקְחָה The form with ל is kept in the O. T. mainly for the department of magic; נַחֵשׁ is used almost wholly in connection with divination. Not at all unlikely, the change came about through a desire, more instinctive than conscious, to use different words for different things." A beginner in Hebrew knows that serpent is נַחֵשׁ; not נַחֵשׁ, which is a) charm, spell, b) omen. The great discovery printed on pp. 50-52 of Davies' book was made long ago by Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 183, rm.: "לַהֵשׁ wohl aus נַחֵשׁ entstanden. Sonst vergleiche des Grafen W. W. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 288." See also Gesenius¹³. The Assyrio-Babylonian, of course, shows that for once Lagarde was wrong. Davies throughout his book spells Baudissin, Sigfried (instead of Siegfried), etc. The whole "Literature," pp. xi-xvi, should have been revised by one of the Leipzig men under whom he took his degree of doctor of philosophy. Davies (in 1897-8) is utterly unaware of such books as Baudissin's *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums* (1889); Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionswissenschaft* (1888); P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (even the second edition appeared before this dissertation was printed); Preiss, *Religionsgeschichte* (1888); Reich, *Die Entwicklung der Religiosität und das Werk der Religion*, etc. (1896), and other important books, to say nothing of the many articles and valuable reviews in periodicals and serials, that should have been constantly referred to in a dissertation on such an important and extremely difficult subject.

⁷⁷ Brown-Gesenius, pp. 462 sq. (where some literature is given); also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 471; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d ed. (1895), p. 292, and *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), *passim*. On the use of the word כַּהֵן in the

Hommel in his book, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 17, footnote 1, says: "There are, no doubt, a number of direct loan-words [from Babylonian] among these [words in the ritual language of the Old Testament], e. g., Hebr. *kohen*, 'priest,' Babyl. *mush-kinu* (from *mushkahinu*),⁷⁸ 'votive,' 'offering homage to the Deity;' or *terumah*, 'heave-offering,' Babyl. *tarimtu*, 'offering-cup;' or Hebr. *torah*, 'law, commandment,' Babyl. *urtu* and *tertu*." Zimmern, *Theolog. Rundschau*, Vol. I, p. 323 (May, 1898), however, wrote: "Sprachlich sehr anfechtbar sind die Behauptungen [Hommel's], S. 17, dass hebr. *kohen*, *terumah*, *torah* alte babylonische Lehnwörter seien." In his *Ritualtafeln*, p. 91, however, Zimmern states that תִּרְתִּי is probably "eine alte Entlehnung aus babylonisch-assyrischem *tertu*." Professor Haupt, to my knowledge, has been of this opinion for at least fifteen years. Tērtu in Assyrio-Babylonian is the technical term for the "divine omen," whence the oracle proceeds. Its original meaning was "mission, order, command," which, then, narrowed down to the more specific signification of "divine revelation, omen."⁷⁹

Who knows whether, in the future, it may not be possible, in the light of more extended research, to show a connection between the לֵוִי, the Levite, of the Old Testament and the Assyrio-Babylonian li'ū, le'ū, "wise, prudent" (used as noun and as adjective)?⁸⁰ Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (New York, 1897), p. 276, identifies the word with the *lavi'u* (fem. *lavi'at*) occurring in the Minæan inscriptions found in Mutstrân (also cf. *ibid.*, pp. 282 sqq., and *Neue kirchl. Zeitschr.*, Vol. I (1890), p. 68, rm.).

Old Testament see Lewis B. Paton in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1893, pp. 1-14; and compare Baudissin, *Geschichte*, pp. 191 sq., 269 sq.; "Der Amtsname כֹּהֵן, auch in den phöniciſchen Inſchriften vorkommend (daneben das Femininum כֹּהֵנִית), scheint den Westsemiten von Haus aus gemeinsam zu sein, wenn nicht etwa die Hebräer ihn von den Kanaanitern herübernahmen" (p. 270).

⁷⁸ Also Hommel in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 217. On muš-kēnu (כִּנְיָן) see Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 271; Zimmern, *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 353 (כִּנְיָן); Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 186, rm. 3. It appears as a synonym of xubbulu, "pauper, wretch;" K. 3312, col. iii, 21; Tel-Amarna (London) 1, 37 we read mā rat ištēn mu-uš-ki-nu = "daughter of a miserable (poor) fellow." The abstract noun also occurs. Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1566, quotes muš-ki-nu-tu illak, he will become a beggar. (Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, p. 44, col. i.)

⁷⁹ On the etymology of tērtu see Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 88, rm. 7.

⁸⁰ I wish to state here that I am quite aware of the literature on this most perplexing subject. Everything of importance prior to 1888 is carefully registered by Baudissin in his monumental work, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums* (1889), according to whom, p. 265, לֵוִי means: "Anschluss, Anhang, Gefolgschaft." Gesenius¹³ and Brown-Gesenius, *sub verbo*, together with the excellent *Theologische Jahresbericht*, give all the literature since 1888.

The **הַרְטָמִים** of the Old Testament, Hommel, *The Expository Times*, February, 1900, p. 234, believes to be a loan-word borrowed from the Babylonian (^{am ē1}) qardamu, a class of priests.⁸¹

Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, pp. 90, 91, states that **בְּרִית**, which in Hebrew has no satisfactory etymology,⁸² is, in all probability, a very old loan-word from the Babylonian in its original meaning of "oracle" (*Orakelspruch*). From this original meaning there were developed, on Hebrew soil, all the other significations of **בְּרִית**, registered in the modern dictionaries. If Zimmern is correct, the derivation of **בְּרִית** from **בריה** "bind" (Gesenius-Brown, etc.), or **בריה** "cut, hew," is to be given up, and the Hebrew must be connected with the Assyrio-Babylonian *bārūtu*, the abstract noun of *bārū*.⁸³ "Mit dem Namen wird dann aber auch wohl die Sache des althebräischen Orakelwesens in ihren letzten Wurzeln auf Babylonien zurückgehen" (Zimmern).⁸⁴ Giesebrecht's excellent remarks on **ברית** in his treatise, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*, have not convinced me that Zimmern's view is wrong. Siegfried-Stade, *Wörterbuch*, be it said here, years ago (1893) gave "Orakelertheilung" as the meaning of **ברית**.

Old Testament exegetes should notice especially Zimmern's remark (*loc. cit.*, p. 85, rm. 8): "Sollte am Ende in **הברי שמים** bzw. **הברי** Jes. 47, 13, dessen Emendierung in **חברי** doch nicht recht befriedigt, irgendwie der babylonische Berufsname *bārū* stecken?" The whole chapter is a "Song of Derision upon Babylon." Vss. 12, 13 read: "Pray, persist in thy spells⁸⁵ and in thy many enchantments [about which thou didst trouble thyself from thy youth], perchance thou canst help somewhat, perchance thou wilt strike terror. Self-wearied art thou with counsels, pray, let them stand forth; yea, let them deliver thee [I mean], the

⁸¹ Hommel refers to IV R. (2d ed.), pl. 12, R. 6, where he reads u-šab-ba-ru qar [instead of am]-da-mi. The ideogram GIL-GIL (Brünnow, 1397, *sic!*) is found in K. 2061, i, 16, as equivalent of qar-da-mu (see Strassmaier, *AV.*, No. 7349). Other etymologies are mentioned in Gesenius¹³ and Brown-Gesenius, s. v. **הַרְטָמִים**. The lucubrations of T. W. Davies, pp. 41-3 of his dissertation, can hardly be taken seriously.

⁸² **בְּרִית**, 1 Sam. 17:8, probably a mistake for **בְּחִירָה** (Zimmern; after Weir and Driver); also cf. 1 Kings 18:25.

⁸³ From the verb *barū*, "see, look, examine, inspect;" thus (^{am ē1}) *bārū*, properly "the examiner of omens," and *bīru*, "the examining of omens" (*Omen-Beschau*).

⁸⁴ It will suffice, in this connection, to call to mind the views adopted by almost all students of the Old Testament concerning the ark (Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 396-99), the Cherubim and Seraphim, and other words of the ritual language, adopted by the Hebrews from other nations.

⁸⁵ **בְּחִירָה**; cf. Assyr. *ubburu*, "to charm, cast a spell over someone (or something)."

seers of heaven, the gazers on stars, who define every new moon; whence (troubles) are coming upon thee." It is evident that the *Qĕrē* הַכְּרִי שָׁמַיִם is a Massoretic makeshift to explain the *Kĕthĭb*, which originally must have been an expression parallel to הַחֲזוֹם בְּכּוֹכָבִים (LXX: οἱ ὀρώντες τοὺς ἀστέρας). On the basis of the Greek, οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, we would reconstruct as the original reading of the Hebrew: הַכְּרִיִּים בְּשָׁמַיִם.⁸⁶ Some scribe,⁸⁷ reading הַכְּרִיִּים בְּשָׁמַיִם, wrote by mistake ו instead of ב. Later copyists who knew not what to do with the ו added it to the preceding הַכְּרִי, and when the Massorettes began their work, they faithfully preserved the ו; but as they could not explain it, they substituted the *Qĕrē*, and hence our present reading. The last part of vs. 13, "who define every new moon; whence (troubles?) are coming upon thee," is also full of difficulties, in view of the LXX reading ἀναγγειλάτωσάν σοι τί μέλλει ἐπὶ σὲ ἔρχεσθαι. It is evident that the translator had before him a text differing from our Massoretic text, for he could scarcely have mistranslated the easy מוֹדְעִים לְחֻדְשֵׁי, as he has done apparently. If the LXX text is correct—and so it seems to me—we must omit לְחֻדְשֵׁי as a gloss. This done, all difficulties in the way of understanding this obscure sentence are removed, and we read: "the star-gazers (astronomers) who show [thee] whence something will happen unto thee."⁸⁸

P. S.—After this whole article was in type and almost ready for the press, I received the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 145, in which Professor Haupt discusses "The Origin of the Mosaic Ceremonial," and T. C. Foote, "The Biblical Ephod."—Professor Moore writes to me (June 18): "I forgot to note that in 2 Sam. 20:18 Haupt regards הַרְמָה as denominative from הַרְמִים. (See Jastrow, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1900.)"

⁸⁶ The *Kĕthĭb* shows us the way to this reconstruction, if we remember (a) that, as Lagarde and others have shown, the original manuscripts had neither vowel points, nor *matres lectionis*, nor the *final m* of the plural; (b) that no space was left between the several words of a sentence; and (c) that some letters of the alphabet are very easily confounded, as we can gather from their similarity on ancient Hebrew gems, money, and the few inscriptions preserved; or, again, (d) that letters sounded so much alike as to be easily interchanged.

⁸⁷ At a period later than the translation of the Septuagint. That this has been done constantly, even before the book was translated into Greek, has been shown succinctly and conclusively by the Roman Catholic Professor Anton Scholz in his "Rectoratsrede" on *Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaia* (Würzburg, 1888).

⁸⁸ I have examined every commentary within reach, but found none suggesting the way out of the difficulties besetting this verse. Delitzsch, Dillmann, Cheyne, etc., persist in rendering "the dividers of heaven." So also Marti (on p. 320 of *Das Buch Jesaia erklärt* ["Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," Lieferung 10], Tübingen, 1900), who takes not the slightest notice of Zimmern's suggestion made months before his commentary appeared.